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ABSTRACT

The Minnesota Youth Advocacy Corps is an attempt to bridge the gap between institution and community for delinquent youth. The Corps was planned jointly by the Minnesota Departments of Education and Corrections, was funded by HEW (through the Youth Delinquency Prevention Administration) for initial organizational purposes and continued by funds from both LEAA (through the Govenor's Crime Commission) and Minnesota's Special Education program. In an attempt to determine the program's effectiveness in an objective manner, the Governor's Crime Commission, through its Project Evaluation Unit, contracted for an evaluation of the program during 1972-73. This report summarizes the findings of this evaluation. Careful comparisons between those youths who returned to areas served by Youth Advocates and similar youths who returned to areas without Youth Advocates demonstrate that the former group made a better adjustment to school and community life, as measured by school attendance, grades, new offenses and re-institutionalization. The study also indentifies advocate characteristics and activities which are most likely to contribute to the successful adjustment of delinquent youth. (Author)

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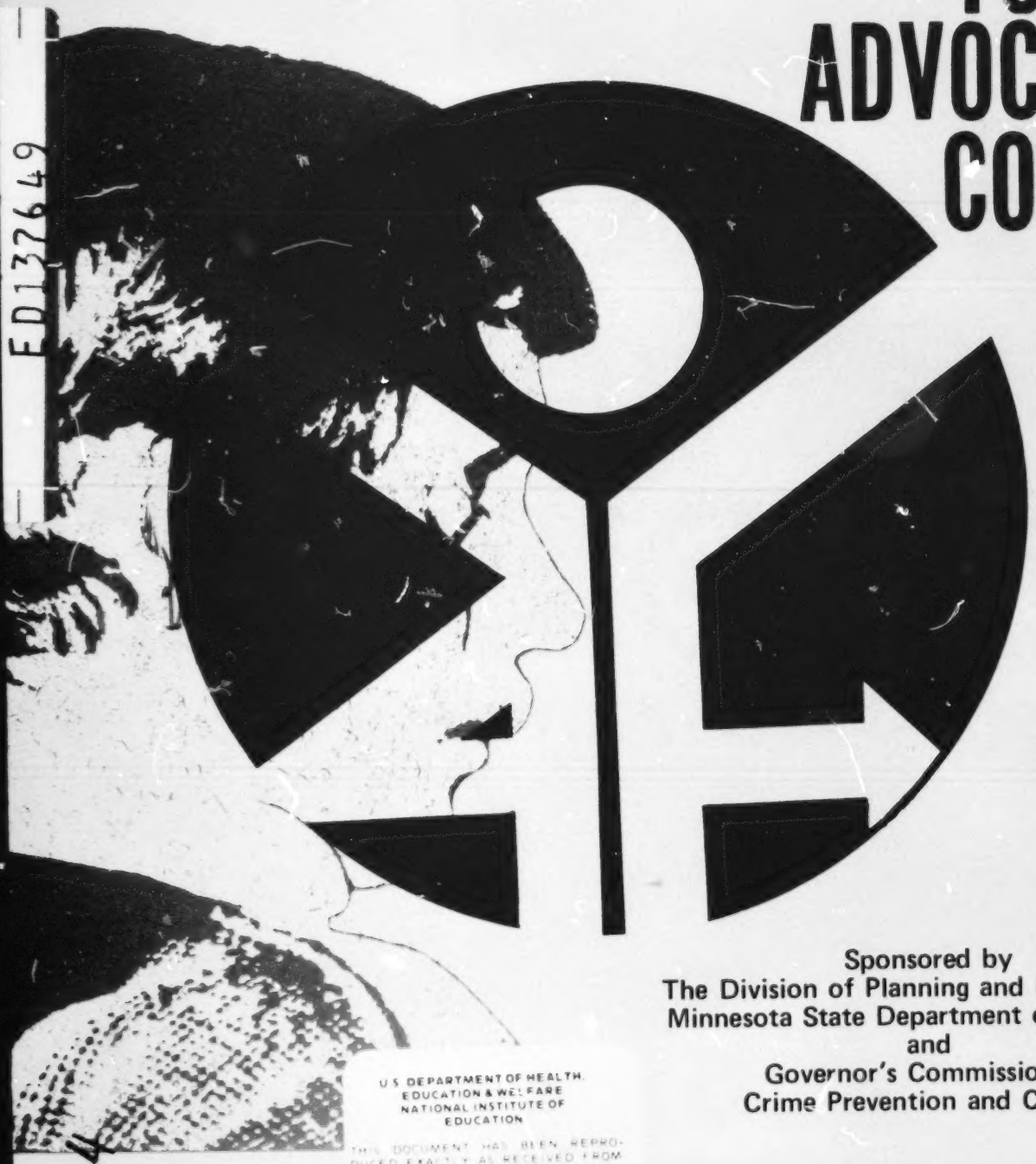
A PROJECT EVALUATION

The Minnesota

YOUTH ADVOCACY CORPS



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MINNESOTA YOUTH ADVOCACY CORPS

An Evaluation

Prepared by

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for the

Project Evaluation Unit

Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control

March 1974

This evaluation was funded under a grant to the Project Evaluation Unit, Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control, State of Minnesota.

The complete report, which includes detailed and tabular presentation of the results, has been filed with the Crime Commission, the State Director of the Youth Advocate Program, and the Advocate Supervisor in each city.

State of Minnesota

Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention & Control
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We are pleased to make available the enclosed evaluation report on the Minnesota Youth Advocacy Corps. This project was developed out of a concern in Minnesota for those youths returning from correctional institutions to their home communities and schools.

Preliminary research carried out in 1970 found that only one-third of the youth returning from correctional institutions to Minnesota's major cities were attending school. Although these youths had often made good progress educationally while in the institution, they were abandoning the educational system upon their release.

The Minnesota Youth Advocacy Corps is an attempt to bridge the gap between institution and community for delinquent youth. The Corps was planned jointly by the Minnesota Departments of Education and Corrections, was funded by HEW (through the Youth Delinquency Prevention Administration) for initial organizational purposes and continued by funds from both LEAA (through the Governor's Crime Commission) and Minnesota's Special Education program. The program, which began in 1971-72 in the cities of Minneapolis and Duluth and continued in 1972 and 1973 in these two cities and St. Paul, has earned an excellent reputation in the cities it serves and with its sponsors. In an attempt to determine the program's effectiveness in an objective manner, the Governor's Crime Commission, through its Project Evaluation Unit, contracted for an evaluation of the program during 1972-73.

The enclosed report summarizes the findings of this evaluation. Careful comparisons between those youths who returned to areas served by Youth Advocates and similar youths who returned to areas without Youth Advocates demonstrate that the former group made a better adjustment to school and community life, as measured by school attendance, grades, new offenses and re-institutionalization. The study also identifies Advocate characteristics and activities which are most likely to contribute to the successful adjustment of delinquent youth.

Findings as clear-cut and positive as those found in this report are rare in the juvenile delinquency literature, and we hope that others will be able to benefit from what has been learned about this worthy program.

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SUMMARY

A Youth Advocate is a certified teacher or school social worker specially trained to perform a new role in the school – that of aiding a delinquent's transition from a correctional institution to the public school. During the 1972-1973 evaluation period, twenty-five Advocates served in public secondary schools of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth. Follow-up was conducted on 216 returnees eligible for Advocate service and on a comparison group of forty returnees to school areas not served by Advocates.

Primary objectives of Advocates with returnees were **improved school adjustment** (as measured by post-release attendance and grades) and **improved community adjustment** (new offenses and re-institutionalizations).

The evaluation provided answers to the following questions:

1. What is the enacted role of Advocates (in comparison to their prescribed role)? According to observation and interview data, Advocates spent most time (a) counseling (including "rapping") with young people and (b) sharing information regarding delinquents with other youth-serving professionals. Early role conflicts with parole officers, probation officers, assistant principals, and others now seem largely resolved. Only a few Advocates neglect work with returnees or engage in program-irrelevant activities (e.g., discipline).

2. What percent of eligible returnees to the attendance areas of Advocate schools actually received Advocate service? Of those returnees eligible for Advocate service **and** research follow-up, 71 percent were served by Advocates. That is, Advocates had initiated at least one in-person contact with each of these returnees. Breadth of service to each served returnee was measured by Advocate performance of six role-prescribed activities: visiting institutions, encouraging school attendance, coordinating academic-program planning, counseling, "going to bat," finding new schools and jobs. A given service was received by at least half of the served-returnee group. Services that could be rendered in school were more likely than services requiring Advocate presence in community or institution. For approximately half of a returnee's post-release months, on the average, the Advocate performed a role-prescribed service on two or more occasions.

3. Was the program effective in promoting school-community adjustment among returnees? A control-group test was conducted in Minneapolis between sixty-six returnees to Advocate-served school attendance-areas (**E** returnees) and forty returnees to comparable moderately deprived areas not served by Advocates (**C** returnees). **E** returnees were better adjusted than **C** returnees on each measure of post-release adjustment employed, although these differences were usually not reliable at conventional levels of statistical significance. When attendance, grades, offenses, and institutionalizations were combined into an index of overall post-release adjustment, **E** returnees were reliably better adjusted than **C** returnees. In addition, **E** returnees were more likely than **C** returnees to be in school on March 31, 1973, the end of the follow-up period; **C** returnees were more likely to be in institutions. Of those **E**-returnee school-attenders, over half were in an "alternative-type" school. **E** returnees also showed greater adjustment gains from the pre- to post-release periods, but the differences were not reliable at conventional significance levels.

4. Did selected individual differences, both Advocate differences and returnee differences, account for differing degrees of returnee adjustment? The relationships among returnee adjustment variables and Advocate service variables indicated (a) little predictability from pre- to post-release adjustment, (b) low positive relationships between school and community adjustment, and (c) low, usually positive, relationships between Advocate service performance and returnee adjustment.

The determinants of returnee adjustment were also sought via case-study of ten Advocates and thirty-four returnees. **Advocate characteristics** that seemed responsible for returnee gains included: assertiveness in seeking returnees; knowledge of school and job opportunities; direct and tangible help in finding a school or job; liking for, and openness of communication with, returnees; and persistent monitoring of returnee's adjustment-plan progress. **Returnee characteristics** that seemed responsible for **poor** post-release adjustment included: low anxiety as measured by a standardized questionnaire; avoidance of adult relationships; deprived family backgrounds (e.g., alcoholism); poor reading skills; and external-control beliefs.

5. What recommendations should be made concerning improvement and re-funding of the Program? Recommendations include: (a) Advocates' involvement in school policy-and-program planning affecting delinquents; (b) Advocates' notification of pre-release staffings and Advocates' involvement in pre-release educational planning; (c) greater efforts to recruit Advocates among those already effective with delinquents; (d) recruitment of Indian Advocates; (e) Advocate training should stress alternative schools, job programs, and improved interprofessional relations (e.g., with police). Given recommended improvements, the Program is worthy of re-funding as one of few anti-delinquency programs with demonstrable (albeit moderate) success in meeting important objectives.

INTRODUCTION

A Youth Advocate is a certified teacher or school social worker who has been specially trained to perform a new role in the school – that of aiding a delinquent youth in the transition from a correctional institution to the public school. The Minnesota Metropolitan Youth Advocate Corps in 1972-1973 consisted of twenty-five Advocates in selected public secondary schools of Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth. Each Advocate is assigned to a "home-base" school, where the Advocate is a full-time member of that school's staff. The Advocate Program has been supported by funds administered by the Minnesota Department of Education and the Governor's Commission on Crime Prevention and Control.

The primary objectives of Advocates with returnees are: (a) **increased school persistence** (as measured by enrollment and attendance), (b) **improved school performance** (grades and graduation), (c) **reduced recidivism** (new offenses and severity of offenses), and (d) **reduced re-institutionalization** (returns to correctional institutions).

The **prescribed role** of the Youth Advocate, outlined in grant proposals, includes the following activities: visiting the delinquent in the institution; encouraging the youth to include school attendance as part of his/her post-release plans; coordinating the academic program planning for the youth returning to the public school; offering counseling and emotional support to the returnee attending school; aiding the returnee in dealings with adults and social agencies; helping the returnee find educational and vocational opportunities.

While the Program is aimed primarily at returnees, the grant proposals have allowed each Advocate to work with boys and girls who are on probation or who are "predelinquent." During the 1971-1972 school year, Advocates reportedly worked "in depth" with 1,310 youths. This total consisted of 336 returnees, 451 probationers and 521 predelinquents.

This evaluation studied the work of Advocates with returnees, since returnees have been the primary target population of the Program. A research follow-up was conducted on 216 returnees eligible for Advocate service and on a comparison group of forty returnees to school areas not served by Advocates.

This evaluation provided answers to the following questions:

1. What is the enacted role of Advocates (in comparison to their prescribed role)?

2. What percent of eligible returnees to the attendance areas of Advocate schools actually received Advocate services?

3. Was the Program effective in meeting its objectives?

4. Did selected individual differences, both Advocate differences and returnee differences, account for differing degrees of Program effectiveness?

5. What recommendations should be made concerning (a) the improvement of Program operation, (b) the appropriateness of Program objectives, and (c) the re-funding of the Program?

These questions are answered in the following five sections of the evaluation report.

I. THE ENACTED ROLE OF ADVOCATES

To describe the Advocates' enacted role, the investigator spent a day with twenty-four of the twenty-five Advocates in his/her own work setting, collecting both interview and observational data.

A time and activity analysis, based on direct observation, showed counseling to be the most prevalent activity. Counseling activities, including informal "rapping" with young people, occupied one-third of the Advocate's time. Advocates' second most time-consuming activity was the sharing of information regarding delinquents with other youth-serving persons, most frequently teachers. Other activities included: serving young people in tangible ways (e.g., driving delinquents to job interviews), providing a place for youths to relax between class periods, advocating for the delinquent (e.g., "going to bat" for the delinquent in disputes with adults, helping the youth re-enroll in school), and being an "expert" on youth during the planning of youth-serving programs (e.g., drug education, sex education, curriculum reform). Three Advocates were observed in activities judged inappropriate for this anti-delinquency program; for example, planning educational programs for the whole school, disciplining students, checking lockers and lavatories for drugs and smoking. Six Advocates maintained little contact with returnees. For several Advocates, a low rate of area delinquency explains this lack of emphasis on returnees. Several other Advocates, however, seemed negligent in their pursuit of returnees.

Advocates now report a low incidence of **role conflict** with other youth-serving professions and agencies. The term "Youth Advocate" was initially an affront to a few anti-delinquency workers, who also regarded themselves as "advocating" for youth. Some Advocates reported early conflicts with parole officers, probation offiers, assistant principals and others. Serving the same youths, and having frequent contact, Advocates and these other professions now perceive themselves as having complementary roles. Advocates are seen as a unique resource in their detailed knowledge of returnees' educational opportunities.

The self-reported **role objectives** of Advocates were varied. Advocates hold general human growth goals for returnees (e.g., development of independence, caring for others, a sense of personal control over one's success and failures). Advocates' adjustment goals for returnees usually include improved school attendance. At present, part-time job opportunities are more numerous for school attenders. Some Advocates voiced objectives which were actually methods to achieve returnee adjustment goals. Being "a rewarding adult" was the effective method most frequently cited. Advocates also believed that persistence, energy and "follow-through" were rewarded by improved returnee adjustment.

II. THE PERCENT OF ELIGIBLE RETURNEES RECEIVING ADVOCATE SERVICES

Each Advocate was asked to list all contacted returnees, and to describe the breadth and persistence of services rendered to each. For each city and, in Minneapolis, for both moderately and highly deprived attendance areas, the number of served returnees was compared with the total number eligible for Advocate service.

In brief, **service-eligible** returnees were those boys and girls released from a State or county correctional institution in 1972, whom Advocates could reasonably have been expected to serve, from release through March 1973. Service-eligible returnees were of secondary-school age (under 18) and grade-placement. They were committed from, and released to, the same city. They were also released at a time when the current Advocate was serving the returnee's school attendance-area. Using this definition, there were 216 service-eligible returnees in the three cities. Of these eligibles, 154 (or 71 percent) were also **served** returnees. A served returnee was a service-eligible returnee with whom the Advocate had initiated at least one in-person contact.

In Minneapolis alone, 154 returnees were eligible for service (and eligible for research follow-up). Seventy percent of these 154 were seen at least once by an Advocate. In St. Paul, 74 percent of 38 service-eligible returnees were served. In Duluth, 75 percent of the 24 service-eligible returnees were seen at least once.

Within Minneapolis a returnee to a moderately deprived Advocate-school attendance area was more likely to see an Advocate (89 percent of the 66 eligibles were seen) than a returnee to a highly deprived area (48 percent of 75 eligibles were seen). Advocates in these highly deprived areas of Minneapolis apparently did not assertively pursue returnees. Of the 52 percent not seen, most had been referred to the Advocate at the time of their commitment.

In general, Advocates seem to do a good job of seeking out returnees. As discussed before, a few Advocates need to be reminded of the Program's emphasis on work with returnees. Most of the non-served returnees probably had no intention of setting foot in school again. Nevertheless, such youths should have been contacted once, to determine what, if any, help might be rendered. Advocates in highly deprived areas may be overburdened with large caseloads. Perhaps some schools in Minneapolis need two Advocates.

Service Breadth and **Service Persistence** were the two measures of Advocate service for each returnee. Service Breadth was measured by the Advocate's performance of six role-prescribed services. For metropolitan Minnesota returnees as a whole, the three most frequently performed services were encouraging the returnee to attend school, counseling the returnee, and coordinating academic program planning for the returnee. Somewhat less frequently performed were the activities of visiting the returnee in the institution, aiding returnees in their dealings with adults and social agencies, and helping the returnee find educational and vocational opportunities outside the Advocate's home-base school. In general, Advocates performed each of the six services for at least half of their served returnees. Returnees were more likely to receive services that could be rendered in the school than services requiring the Advocate's presence in institution or community.

Service Persistence for each returnee was the percent of months – from one month before the first service-eligible release, through March 31, 1973 – that the Advocate served the returnee twice. Advocates performed a role-prescribed service on two separate occasions during approximately 40 percent of the months for Minneapolis returnees, 70 percent for St. Paul returnees, and 60 percent for Duluth returnees. St. Paul Advocates, most recently hired on the average, also tended to have the greatest service persistence. Their returnees had less time to drift away from school and Advocate service.

III. THE PROGRAM'S EFFECTIVENESS IN MEETING ITS OBJECTIVES

An overall quasi-experimental "test" was conducted between two groups of returnees, an "Advocate" (experimental) group and a "non-Advocate" (control) group. Returnees in both groups resided in Minneapolis secondary-school attendance areas roughly comparable in "socio-educational disadvantagement." These areas could be described as "moderately deprived." The use of only moderately deprived areas was dictated by the lack of an adequate match for four highly deprived Advocate-school areas. Although a number of moderately deprived school areas did not have an Advocate, all highly deprived school areas in Minneapolis were assigned an Advocate. The dependent variables for this control group comparison were those most relevant to Program objectives: post-release school attendance, post-release grades, new offenses, and returns to correctional institutions.

The experimental and control groups consisted of **all** returnees to these fifteen moderately deprived school areas during specified periods in 1972. Seven of 66 experimental-area returnees never met their Advocate; they were, nevertheless, included in the experimental group. Correspondingly, several of the forty control-area returnees **were** served by Advocates and were included in the control group so as to avoid sample-selection bias. The experimental-control comparisons therefore may be conservative, since a few "non-Advocate" returnees were served.[1]

(The Appendix presents in tabular form most of the results reported in this section. Readers wishing an even more detailed presentation of methods and results are urged to read the complete report on which this abridged version is based.)

The experimental and control groups did turn out to be well matched in their **pre-release** school community adjustment (before the Advocate Program), with two exceptions. First, control boys had somewhat longer periods of institutionalization, on the average, than the experimental boys. Second, control girls had somewhat higher pre-release offense rates than experimentals. (See Table 1 in Appendix.) The pre-release period, for each returnee, was one year long. The pre-release period ended on the first 1972 release date when the returnee could have been served by an Advocate. (For control returnees, the pre-release period ended on the first 1972 release date.)

During the post-release period, however – ending for each returnee on March 31, 1973 – returnees to the experimental (Advocate-served) attendance areas were better adjusted than returnees to control (non-Advocate) attendance areas on **every** measure of post-release adjustment employed. These results obtained for both boys and girls, taken separately. The adjustment of boys and girls was analyzed separately because boys, as a group, had higher offense rates (reflecting more frequent and more serious officially recorded offenses) than girls during both pre- and post-release periods.

BOYS

The 48 experimental boys spent half as much time as the 27 control boys in correctional institutions after their first studied release (12 percent vs. 24 percent). Experimental boys had lower offense rates than control boys (the scale-equivalent of two felonies or three misdemeanors per year for experimentals vs. three felonies or five misdemeanors for controls). Experimental boys had better grades, although **g.p.a.**'s for both groups were near failing. Both groups attended approximately one-third of all post-release school days. (See Table 2 in Appendix.)

When the four post-release adjustment variables were combined into a **Post-Index of School-Community Adjustment**, the overall adjustment of experimental boys was reliably higher than that of control boys ($p = .03$).[2]

For each boy having complete pre-release and post-release adjustment data, an **Adjustment Gain Score** was calculated. These Gain scores, using more adjustment information, constitute a better basis for experimental-control comparison than the Post-Index scores alone. Unfortunately, Gain scores were available for only 70 percent of the returnees, regardless of group and sex. Furthermore, data (and Gain scores) may be systematically different from returnees for whom only post-release adjustment data were obtained. Nevertheless, experimental boys showed a net gain in school-community adjustment and control boys a net loss ($p = .28$ for the difference between mean gains).[3]

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1. Experimental and control groups were selected to be as similar as possible. Non-served experimental-area returnees and served control-area returnees may well have been systematically different from returnees in general. To **exclude** these atypical returnees from the analysis would probably have biased the results in favor of greater **apparent** Program effectiveness. To **include** these atypical returnees probably makes the effectiveness tests more conservative. Since a choice was necessary, the (probably) conservative bias was preferable. A conservative bias aids the credibility of any findings suggesting better adjustment by experimental returnees, because this bias makes such results harder to detect.

2. "$p = .03$," summarizes the results of a statistical test (a one-tailed **t** test for independent means). The statement, "$p = .03$," indicates that an adjustment difference at least this large, in favor of the experimental boys, would be expected **by chance** only three of one hundred times. Hence, one can "reliably" attribute this difference to factors unique to the experimental group. The most plausible cause of this difference (in the investigator's judgment) is effective Advocate service. Other "**p**" statements in this evaluation have corresponding interpretations and, unless otherwise noted, summarize the results of one-tailed **t** tests.

3. The higher "**p** - value" for the gain – score analysis, compared to the analysis using the Post-Index, can be attributed in part to the lower number of returnees involved in the gain – score analysis.

GIRLS

The 12 experimental girls had higher post-release g.p.a.'s than the 8 controls ($p = .02$), although neither group scored above a D average. Experimental girls spent twice as much time in school, on the average, as control girls (35 percent vs. 16 percent); they spent less post-release time in correctional institutions (8 percent for experimentals vs. 14 percent for controls). Experimental girls had a lower mean post-release offense rate (the equivalent of two misdemeanors per year) than control girls (three misdemeanors per year), but this difference can plausibly be accounted for by the lower mean pre-release offense rate of experimentals. On all other variables, the experimental and control girls were well matched in pre-release adjustment (see Table 1, Appendix). In overall post-release adjustment (as measured by the composite Post-Index), the experimental girls were favored ($p = .03$). The Adjustment Gain Scores for girls with complete data also favored the experimental girls ($p = .14$). (See Table 2, Appendix.)

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY STATUS, BOTH SEXES COMBINED

Another index of adjustment was the returnee's school-community status as of the last date of the follow-up period—March 31, 1973. Experimental returnees were more likely to be enrolled in school on this date than control returnees (41 percent of experimentals vs. 25 percent of controls), and this difference was reliable ($p < .05$).[4] Control returnees were more likely than experimentals to be in correctional institutions on this date (30 percent vs. 12 percent, $p < .05$). In addition, experimental returnee-attenders were more likely to be in an "alternative-type" school. Over half of the experimental attenders were in an alternative school.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

Minneapolis has a large number of alternative schools. As just noted, over half of the experimental attenders (15 of 27) were in an alternative school as of March 31, while only three of ten control attenders were in alternative schools.

What are the characteristics of these alternative schools that makes them magnets for returnees? In the publicly and privately funded alternative schools visited by this investigator, (a) the curriculum was flexible and geared to the needs of students; and (b) school operation was relatively unstructured and democratic.

a. **Curriculum.** Alternative schools tend to offer basic academic skills courses (reading and math) plus elective areas (e.g., poetry writing, ecology, Indian history, humanistic psychology) not emphasized in the regular public school curriculum.

b. **Operation.** Students and teachers share responsibility for the planning of educational activities. Formal lectures are rare; individualized assignments are common. Attendance requirements are liberal, implicitly if not explicitly, and yet most returnees in these schools were attending at least three of every five school days.

Students in alternative schools seem to represent a wide range of scholastic aptitude and social status. A majority, however, seem educationally deprived. Some are "pushouts," implicitly or explicitly encouraged to leave regular schools, where they had been disruptive.

Definitions of the alternative school cannot do justice to the variety of learning opportunities these schools present. The words of an experimental group girl summarize some attractive characteristics of these schools:

> I've had no hassles since coming here. I can't stand sitting in a class and listening to a teacher. I'd rather teach myself. Here you have tutors when you need help. You can smoke, drink pop, get snacks. In a regular school, you just work.

The larger proportion of experimental returnees than control returnees attending alternative schools seems attributable to the Advocate Program. Very few returnees in either group attended alternative schools during the pre-release period, and before the experimental returnees had met an Advocate. Referral to an alternative school by an Advocate seems crucial to a returnee's enrollment in that alternative. For example, three control schools have affiliated alternative schools (e.g., "Pocket Schools"). Yet, only two returnees to control areas were attending one of these easily accessible alternatives. One of the most popular alternatives for experimental returnees, the Institution-Community-Continuum School, is located next to a control school, but was attended by no control returnees. Yet, several Advocates successfully referred returnees to the I.C.C. School.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT OF RETURNEES TO ST. PAUL, TO DULUTH, AND TO HIGHLY DEPRIVED ATTENDANCE AREAS OF MINNEAPOLIS

In addition to experimental and control returnees from moderately deprived areas of Minneapolis, the investigator also studied the adjustment of all **served** returnees to other areas of Minneapolis and to the cities of St. Paul and Duluth. Served returnees, it will be recalled, had at least one in-person contact with an Advocate. Served returnees were therefore selected for study using criteria different from those used to select experimental and control returnees. All **service-eligible** returnees in a given attendance area were studied for the experimental vs. control comparisons.

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4. p is based on a one-tailed z test for the difference between two proportions.

Beyond the experimental and control areas, only **served** returnees were followed-up. The number of eligible returnees not served was tabulated for all areas, however (see previous section).

Table 3 in the Appendix shows the pre- and post-release adjustment of served returnees to St. Paul, Duluth and to the highly deprived areas of Minneapolis. Table 3 also shows the adjustment of all Minneapolis returnees who were studied whether experimental or control, served or unserved.

The highly deprived school-attendance areas of Minneapolis are Franklin Junior High, Lincoln Junior High, Central High, and North High. The St. Paul Advocate-school areas were Humboldt Junior-Senior High, Mechanic Arts Junior-Senior High, the St. Paul Open School, Central High, Johnson High, and Washington High. Duluth Advocate-served schools were Washington Junior High (two Advocates), Central High (two Advocates), East High and Denfeld High.

One **should not** compare the post-release adjustment or apparent adjustment **gains of returnees in each city to compare the effectiveness of Advocates in the three cities.** First, of course, the Minneapolis figures include both served and unserved returnees; the other cities' figures are based only on served returnees. Second, the three cities may differ in many factors affecting returnee adjustment scores: for example, Duluth-served returnees have the highest post-release attendance rate. They also tend to be slightly younger than returnees to the other cities. Two factors may account for the relatively high returnee attendance in Duluth: a somewhat greater percent of students required by law to attend school, and possibly strict enforcement of the truancy law.

In St. Paul, a factor possibly affecting adjustment scores was the late entry of Advocates into their schools (in mid-October 1972). All of the St. Paul returnees, therefore, had release dates between October 15 and December 31 inclusive; all these returnees had correspondingly short follow-up periods. A short follow-up period may bias institutionalization scores downward; e.g., newly released returnees may be given one or two warnings before being recommitted. Consistent with this interpretation, St. Paul returnees had the lowest post-institutionalization rate.

THE AVERAGE RETURNEE

A demographic and adjustment profile can be constructed for an "average" metropolitan Minnesota returnee, using Tables 1 thru 3 and other information. In all three cities, the "average" returnee was a boy, 15 years old at the time of his first studied release during the summer (fall for St. Paul) of 1972, who was entering the tenth grade. He stood a fairly even chance of being committed to the Youth Conservation Commission by March 31, 1973.

From the pre-institutionalization to the post-release period, his school attendance dropped (except in Duluth), his **g.p.a.** stayed near the **D** level, and his rate of officially charged offenses declined. He may have gone back to the institution for one or more, usually brief stays. During the pre-release period he was committing offenses at the rate of three felony-type offenses (e.g., car theft, major burglary, robbery) or five misdemeanor-type offenses (e.g., minor theft, or shoplifting; marijuana or other minor drug charge; auto tampering; vandalism; lurking) per year. During the post-release period he committed felony-type offenses at the rate of two per year and misdemeanor-type offenses, three per year.

If he was in school, he probably attended fewer than three of every five school days. If he was out of school, a prospect more likely, he tended to be unemployed. If a Minneapolis resident and a school attender, he probably went to an alternative school, where his attendance was better than 50 percent.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS CONCERNING PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

Comparisons between experimental and control returnees uniformly showed better post-release adjustment by returnees to Advocate-served areas than by returnees to non-Advocate areas. The reliably demonstrated success of the program seems attributable in large measure to the work of Advocates, although further study might show a small over-representation of other anti-delinquency programs and resources (in addition to Advocates) in the experimental areas.

Strictly speaking, these results showing Program effectiveness in meeting objectives are generalizable only to moderately deprived areas of Minneapolis. The investigator would extend the generalizability of these results, however. The investigator believes that the Advocate Program has (and would have) a comparable moderate degree of success in any moderately deprived metropolitan area with similar youth-serving resources (e.g., some alternative schools, group homes, drop-in centers, and other social services).

The success of the Program is termed "moderate" for three reasons: (a) the small magnitude of some experimental-control differences suggest the overall impact of the Advocate service was modest. (b) The often small between-group differences, coupled with the large variances of the post-release variables, reflects the fact that some experimental returnees made a poor post-release adjustment, while some control returnees made a good adjustment. (c) **Both** experimental and control returnee-groups showed poorer school adjustment (and **better** community adjustment) during the post-release period, compared to the pre-institutionalization period (before Advocate service).

IV DID SELECTED INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES, BOTH ADVOCATE DIFFERENCES AND RETURNEE DIFFERENCES, ACCOUNT FOR DIFFERING DEGREES OF PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS?

The Advocate Program appeared to have moderate overall effectiveness in promoting returnee adjustment. This section describes the search for those Advocate and returnee characteristics responsible for differences in returnee adjustment. Several approaches were used to explore causes of variation in post-release adjustment by returnees.

First, the relationship among returnee adjustment variables and Advocate service variables was studied. Second, ten Advocates were selected for a case-study approach to determine the characteristics of more successful Advocates. Third, 34 returnees were selected from the caseloads of these same ten Advocates for study of their demographic and personal characteristics as well as their perceptions of Advocate service. Fourth, detailed individual case studies of five returnees are presented to give a fuller picture of the frustrations and satisfactions Advocates experience.

RELATIONSHIP AMONG RETURNEE ADJUSTMENT AND ADVOCATE SERVICE VARIABLES

For all studied Minneapolis returnees (including controls), a correlation matrix was constructed using the following variables: pre- and post-release adjustment variables (attendance, grades, offenses, institutionalization), and Pre- and Post-Indices of School-Community Adjustment (composites of the four adjustment variables), the Adjustment Gain Score (for returnees with complete pre- and post-data on the four adjustment variables), and Advocate service variables (Service Breadth, Service Persistence, and a composite of the two, called the Returnee Index of Advocate Service).

Correlations among measures of returnee adjustment indicated (a) little predictability from measures of pre-release adjustment to measures of post-release adjustment, and (b) little relationship between school adjustment and community adjustment. For male returnees, no pre-release adjustment variables was highly correlated[5] with any post-release variable. For females, a few pre-release variables were highly correlated with a post-release variable: pre-release school attendance and the Pre-Index of adjustment both predicted post-release attendance (r's = +.42 and +.37, respectively). Pre-release and post-release grades were also correlated for girls (r = +.33).

In contrast to the assertions of several delinquency theorists, school adjustment (attendance, grades) bore little relationship to community adjustment (offenses, institutionalizations), although the direction of the correlations suggested poor school adjustment was accompanied by poor community adjustment.

Correlations between Advocate service (Breadth, Persistence) and returnee adjustment were generally low. There is a suggestion that Service Persistence may be more important than Service Breadth in promoting adjustment among boys. For boys, Advocate Persistence correlated +.22 with Adjustment Gain, while Advocate Service – Breadth correlated +.10 with these Gain scores. The overall unrelatedness of Advocate service scores and returnee adjustment scores discourages the belief that sheer breadth and persistence of Advocate service result in improved returnee adjustment. These low correlations do indicate that Advocates served returnees without regard to their pre-release adjustment; Advocates did not generally focus on easy cases, "picking winners."

ADVOCATE CHARACTERISTICS

Advocates believed to have caseloads of eight or more returnees were subjected to case study. These ten Advocates were equally divided into those having greater or lesser success among their returnees, where success was defined in terms of the mean Adjustment Gain score of each Advocate's caseload returnees. The five Advocates having greater gains among their returnees were called "plus Advocates;" the five Advocates with lesser gains, "minus Advocates."[6] Before dichotomization, these ten case-study Advocates had been ordered by the mean Adjustment Gain score of their served returnees. An analysis of variance was conducted on the returnee Gain scores of these Advocates: one-way analysis of variance.[7] This statistical analysis demonstrated that the Advocate by which a returnee was served was a significant factor in that returnee's adjustment gain.[8]

The complete report presents a profile of each of the five "plus" Advocates and each of the five "minus" Advocates. In summary, these case-study profiles document differences

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5. "Highly correlated" is here defined as an r at least .32 in absolute value, accounting for at least 10 percent of the variance in a set of scores.

6. The terms "plus" and "minus" are not absolute judgments but instead indicate the relative position of Advocates among those selected for the case study.

7. $F = 2.69$, $df = 9, 71$; $p = .01$.

8. Statistical comparisons (t tests) of mean Adjustment Gain Scores for each Advocate's caseload were used to determine the cutting point for "plus" vs. "minus" Advocates.

between "plus" and "minus" Advocates in experience, skill and service. These Advocate differences, not adequately reflected in gross measures of Service Breadth and Persistence, can plausibly account for the between-caseload differences in Adjustment Gain. "Plus" Advocates, more than "Minus" Advocates, seemed to like returnees, were in turn sought out by returnees, and tended to follow-through on their referrals of returnees to youth-serving resources. The "plus" Advocates – three in particular – tended to combine verbal counseling with tangible help in promoting returnee adjustment. One "plus" Advocate provided the most service to those returnees least served by other resources.

Other factors besides Advocate differences did, of course, affect caseload success. One or two of the "minus" Advocates were hindered in their work by elements beyond their control: unfavorable school-community environments, too large caseloads, or by having drawn a particularly intractable caseload. One or two of the "plus" Advocates were also aided by factors they did not control, e.g., school environments, particularly supportive of good returnee adjustment.

CASE STUDY OF RETURNEES

From the caseloads of the ten case-study Advocates, a representative sample of 34 returnees was selected. For each of the ten case-study Advocates, at least two case-study returnees were interviewed. An attempt was made to interview at least one "plus" returnee (making a relatively good post-release adjustment) and one "minus" returnee (making a relatively poor post-release adjustment) from each Advocate's caseload. In all, 34 returnees (23 boys and 11 girls) were selected for case study. These case-study returnees were divided into those showing better or poorer adjustment success (as measured by the Post-Index of School-Community Adjustment) during the post-release period ending March 31, 1973.

The two groups of Advocates and the two groups of returnees generated a four-cell table (presented graphically in Figure 1) into which each returnee could be classified; (++) returnees, served by a "plus" Advocate and making a "plus" adjustment during the post-release period; (+ -) returnees, served by a "plus" Advocate but making a below-cutting-point adjustment; (- +) returnees, having a "minus" Advocate, yet making a relatively good adjustment; (- -) returnees, with a "minus" Advocate and making a relatively poor adjustment.

The returnees were dichotomized near their median Post-Index of School-Community Adjustment so that the four returnee groups (see Figure 1) would have six or more members. There were twelve (++) returnees, eight (+ -) returnees, six (- +) returnees and eight (- -) returnees.

Figure 1. Classification of Case-Study Returnees[9].

RETURNEE	ADVOCATE: "MINUS" (lesser caseload success)	ADVOCATE: "PLUS" (greater caseload success)
"PLUS" (better post-release adjustment)	- + returnee group	+ + returnee group
"MINUS" (poorer post-release adjustment)	- - returnee group	+ - returnee group

Again, the terms "plus" and "minus" are not absolute judgments, but instead indicate the relative position of a person within the sample of returnees or the sample of Advocates chosen for case study.[10]

A brief description of the relative adjustment of these groups of returnees will demonstrate differences among types of returnees. The four groups of case-study returnees were ordered (- -), (+ -), (- +), and (++) in gain scores, with approximately one-half a gain-score standard deviation separating each mean. During the post-release period, Group (++) returnees were attending school four of every five school days, on the average; had C grades; had some significant delinquent activity (between one and two felonies per year, on the average), but no incarcerations. Group (- -) returnees were attending two of every five school days; had near failing g.p.a.'s; had nearly twice the offense rate of any other case-study group (a rate equivalent to five felonies per year); and had spent nearly one-fourth of their total post-release days back in the institution.

As of the end of the follow-up period, twelve of the (++) returnees were in school. Only three of eight (- -) returnees were in school; three more (- -) returnees were institutionalized. Over one-third of all case-study returnees were in alternative schools, further attesting to the attractiveness of these settings for delinquents.

Advocate service differences among the four groups. During their interviews, returnees in all four groups reported comparable role-prescribed Service Breadth by their Advocates. Likewise, returnee ratings of their Advocate's overall "helpfulness" to them in "making it on the outs" did not differentiate the four returnee groups. The mean ratings indicated returnees in all groups saw their Advocates as quite helpful.

9. Case-study returnees were classified using two dimensions: namely, whether the returnee had better or poorer success in post-release school-community adjustment and whether the returnee's Advocate had greater or lesser caseload success. Advocate success was measured by the mean gain in adjustment for that Advocate's returnees from pre- to post-release periods.

10. In fact, the case-study returnees as a group showed a mean Adjustment Gain Score (approximately +.50) one-third of a standard deviation higher than the mean Adjustment Gain for all studied Minneapolis returnees (approximately +.20). In their mean Post-Index of School-Community Adjustment (approximately +.35) the case-study returnees also stood one-third of a standard deviation higher than all Minneapolis returnees (mean Post-Index approximately +.10). Some "minus" returnees in the case-study group therefore would be "plus" returnees with reference to the entire Minneapolis returnee group.

The content analysis of returnee answers to open-ended questions did, however, suggest two Advocate characteristics important for the returnee adjustment. Thirteen of eighteen "plus" returnees (nine of twelve in the ++ group alone) said their Advocate had provided important, direct aid toward getting a job or new school (e.g., Advocate went job-hunting with returnee, "got" returnee a job, arranged the school transfer, took the returnee to an alternative school). Only seven of sixteen "minus" returnees made similar comments. Second, half of the Group (++) returnees spontaneously indicated they felt comfortable interacting with their Advocate (e.g., felt at ease discussing personal matters, don't feel "pressured" or "badgered" by Advocate, trust Advocate to keep matters confidential, call Advocate without hesitation). Only two returnees among those in the other three groups volunteered such a statement.

This content analysis of returnee comments suggests that no Advocate services are more important for returnee adjustment than (a) giving the returnee every aid toward getting into an appropriate school or job, including delivery of the returnee to the door on the first day, and (b) maintaining open lines of communication between returnee and Advocate.

Demographics and disadvantagement. Returnees in all four groups were generally similar in demographic characteristics and in their high degree of family disadvantagement. While case-study returnees tended to have average intelligence, they were generally two grades below expectation in reading achievement. Two-thirds or more of the returnees in each group were from one parent families. The parent(s), when employed, were usually semi-skilled workers. Each group had at least two returnees with an alcoholic parent, one returnee with a criminal role model in the family, and one returnee severely beaten by parents. As in the entire group of studied returnees, minority youths were overrepresented in these case-study groups.

Only one disadvantagement variable was highly correlated with an adjustment variable. Having an alcoholic parent or guardian was a background factor associated with poor post-release adjustment (the Post-Index) for both Minneapolis case-study boys ($r = -.40$) and girls ($r = -.53$). It was also negatively correlated with adjustment gain for boys ($r = -.34$).

Anxiety differences among case-study returnees. Each case-study returnee completed the Activity Preference Questionnaire (APQ), a measure of physical and social fear. (The APQ is reproduced in an appendix to the complete report.) Among the present sample of case-study returnees, total APQ scores and physical anxiety scores for Minneapolis boys correlated -.35 to -.53 with offense rate and institutionalization rate during the post-release period. That is, lower anxiety was associated with higher offense and institutionalization rates (for boys only).

Further analysis indicated that less anxious boys were charged with more serious crimes during the post-release period. While high- and low-anxiety case-study boys had similar offense patterns before their first studied institutionalization, these two groups differed in delinquency after release. Six of eleven boys above-median in anxiety had **no** chargeable offense during the post-release period; only two of twelve lower-anxiety boys had no chargeable offense. In fact, nine of twelve lower-anxiety boys were charged with a felony-type or gross misdemeanor-type offense during the post-release period. In summary, these lower anxiety boys seem not to have profited from adverse experiences in the criminal justice system.

Anxiety and career choice. A low "anxiety I.Q." is probably a great handicap in community adjustment. Low anxiety could, however, be turned into an asset in a delinquent's rehabilitation. Low anxiety delinquents should make a good adjustment in jobs which reward their willingness to take physical and social risks.

Case-study returnees were asked to name the occupation they would most enjoy if they had complete freedom to choose. They were also asked the occupation they would actually pursue after they left school for good. Lower anxiety boys tended more than higher anxiety boys, to aspire to those challenging and risky jobs that might be called "the moral equivalent of crime." Many of the ideal job choices of lower anxiety boys involved physical danger (e.g., pilot, dirt-bike racer) or social risk (e.g., politician, lawyer, actor, "boss," company president). Nearly all involved freedom from coercive supervision (e.g., artist, car designer). The ideal job choices of the higher anxiety male returnees were somewhat more likely to involve routine, onerous, and carefully supervised activity (e.g., rubbish hauler, body shop worker, janitor, local truck driver).

Although differing in job aspirations, higher and lower anxiety boys were **similar** in their actual job expectations. Irrespective of their APQ standing, most boys believed they would actually seek routine, coercively supervised jobs offering little physical or social challenge (e.g., assembly work, warehouse stockboy, factory worker). The long-range success of anti-delinquency efforts like the Youth Advocate Program may depend in part on these programs' capacity to find low-anxiety clients the career opportunities that will reward their propensity to take physical and social risks.

The following case study is presented to illustrate the difficulty and frustration Advocates sometimes experience in working with low-anxiety returnees and the need for anti-delinquency efforts to take account of these dispositional anxiety differences during program planning.

The Case Study of Derek,* A Low-Anxiety Returnee

Derek is a young man of 16 with a string of delinquencies dating back to early childhood and continuing to the present day. Derek scored well below the median in anxiety on the APQ. Advocate E's very persistent work with Derek began in early 1972, shortly after E started his work. Derek had been committed to the County institution for burglary and probation violations. Derek ran from the institution, was returned, and after his eventual release in late spring was charged with shoplifting and glue sniffing. In fall, 1972, Derek burglarized a school and was arrested trying to sell stolen lunch tickets. While awaiting his court hearing, Derek rode off with several delinquent friends in a stolen car. Before his mother had left for the night shift, she had warned ineffectually, "Whatever you do, don't ride in that car." Derek, however, lured by his lifelong desire to visit Disneyland, began a trip that nearly cost his life.

After an all-night ride, their money exhausted, the youths stole some gasoline. A high-speed chase ended in a crash, with a Highway Patrol car running the length of Derek's outstretched body, rupturing internal organs. Derek was flown back to Minnesota, and recuperated over many months. Advocate E obtained a tutor for the boy, regularly visited his home, and provided many rides and other tangible services. Although Derek enjoyed describing his adventures and injuries, he also expressed confidence that he "had learned his lesson."

Derek's original court hearing was eventually held (now with additional charges). E argued that Derek "had suffered enough." The P.O., according to Derek, "wanted me sent up pretty bad." The judge stayed commitment.

In April 1973, Derek and an associate attempted to break into a corner grocery. They were arrested almost immediately. The judge said, "What more can we do?" Advocate E later repeated this question. Derek's reply: "There's not too much people can do. You could call me every night at 2 a.m., but you don't want to do that." Advocate E managed Derek's restitution plan for payment of the store owner, thereby preventing Derek's re-institutionalization.

Derek is a verbal boy with average intelligence but very poor reading skills. He may soon drop out of high school. He has few career interests – he might like to "make things out of wood" like a friendly adult neighbor. He seems resigned to career unemployment in the prosocial world of work. Despite his recent acrobatic burglarizing, Derek feels his accident-related injuries will prevent him from doing "the work that other people do. I might get hurt real bad. Besides, you have to know people." Derek seems ignorant of interesting, challenging jobs in the legitimate opportunity structure that might reward his proclivity to take risks.

*All returnee names are fictitious.

FOUR MORE CASE-STUDY RETURNEES: EXAMPLES OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADVOCATE SERVICE AND RETURNEE ADJUSTMENT

This section presents in detail the cases of four returnees. These details will illustrate the problems with which Advocates must deal. At the same time, they demonstrate various approaches which can be used in assisting returnees.

In each of the four returnee groups – (- -), (- +), (+ -), and (++) – one returnee was selected for whom the relationship between Advocate service and returnee adjustment seemed relatively clear. These case studies are presented below. For the returnee selected from Group (- -) and the returnee from (++), it seemed possible to attribute the returnee's good vs. poor post-release adjustment to the quality of Advocate service.

Dan, A Group (- -) Returnee

Dan is an earnest, 17-year-old black youth looking forward to family responsibilities. His most serious felony-type offenses occurred over one year ago. Despite his feelings of harassment by police, he still wants adult friends who can help him get a "good-paying job." He needs a good job so that he can marry his pregnant girlfriend and rent an apartment in St. Paul. He feels that he will continue to be harassed if he stays in Minneapolis. Dan has shown a poor post-release adjustment. His difficulties have required major adult help, but this help has not been provided. His Advocate was D.

After arrests for three thefts, the last being an armed robbery (his friend carried the gun), Dan was sent to the County institution from February through March 1972. Advocate D visited Dan twice, promising to "be there" if Dan ever needed help. Dan had been a student at D's school in 1971-1972, after being kicked out of another high school closer to his home. At D's school, Dan had few friends and experienced transportation problems. Dan says he wanted to go back to D's school. He wanted encouragement ("I got lazy. . .I needed a push") and a job (D's school has school-based youth-employment programs). Advocate D said he terminated contact because Dan expressed lack of interest in school.

After his first studied release in late March 1972, Dan apparently did not re-enroll in D's school and he has not been in school since. In September 1972, he violated County probation by not attending his P.O.'s group counseling sessions. In October he was charged with aggravated assault after a street fight. In February 1972, Dan was stopped for reckless driving and suspicion of drinking. By his own account, Dan was driving his mother home, was

stopped by several police, spread-eagled, and thrown to the ice. Dan was subsequently charged with assault on an arresting officer, committed to the Youth Conservation Commission (Y.C.C.) and was in the Minnesota Reception and Diagnostic Center at the time of his interview.

Dan's new State parole officer also describes him as "earnest." The P.O.'s account of Dan's trouble implies that his most recent offenses had been blown out of proportion. Dan's family and older siblings are apparently known to the police – a fact which causes Dan to be stigmatized.

During Dan's 1973 institutionalization, Dan has not been visited by an Advocate. Advocate **D**, however, saw Dan while visiting another returnee. This meeting between Dan and Advocate **D** was very brief, and **D** did not offer any help. This lack of concern and involvement by the adults in Dan's environment seems partly responsible for his poor school-community adjustment. At the present time he needs a job, legal assistance, and possibly other social services.

Cheryl, A Group (- +) Returnee

Cheryl exemplifies a returnee for whom reasonably good Advocate service was probably irrelevant to her good adjustment. Cheryl's successful placement outside her own brutalizing home and her enrollment in an alternative school (she is the returnee quoted in the section devoted to alternatives) were probably the two events most helpful to her adjustment. Advocate **E** was not directly responsible for these placements; for example, he told her about possible alternative schools, but did not personally enroll her.

Most of Cheryl's adjustment problems have been related to unsatisfactory placements outside the home. Her own family is highly deprived. Her father, now in prison, sadistically beat Cheryl and her siblings. A step-brother has made sexual advances. Cheryl ran from several foster-care placements. While on the run, she was arrested for riding in a stolen car and shooting heroin.

During her recent difficulties, she has maintained contact with helpful adults, including two Advocates. Last year Cheryl ran from a foster home to California. After she had decided to run, she phoned Advocate **E**, and receiving no answer, phoned the other Advocate. The second Advocate arranged transportation back to Minneapolis. Advocate **E** has obtained summer employment for Cheryl, and visits Cheryl frequently at her new school. Advocate **E** helped Cheryl's relationship with her new parole officer. Cheryl does in fact attribute much of her improved adjustment to the two Advocates. "If it weren't for (**E**) and (the other Advocate), I'd be out of school and on the street."

The investigator, however, believes that Cheryl's own knowledge of resources and, in the words of her P.O., her capacity to "form strong relationships with adults," are largely responsible for her gains. As in the runaway example above, she is able to use youth-serving adults interchangeably. In addition to Advocates and parole officer, she is being aided by tutors and job counselors in her school. She is employed via her school in a downtown department store. She is proud of her parole-discharge certificate. She aspires to work as a correctional counselor, Youth Advocate, or social worker – all professions that have directly served her. In her successful coordination of resources and in her ability to work with people, she shows aptitude for youth-serving work. She has become her own Advocate.

Gary, A Group (+ -) Returnee

Gary is a slim, athletic-looking 16-year-old attending Advocate **J**'s alternative school. As a result of a burglary attempt in February 1973, Gary was in the State Diagnostic and Reception Center at the end of the returnee follow-up period. Despite Advocate **J**'s consistent and unremitting efforts, Gary has shown a relatively poor adjustment since his first studied release in November 1972. There is some reason to believe, however, that Gary's present poor adjustment will be temporary.

For Gary, boyhood is ending in sorrow. His father is critically ill; his parents have little energy to supervise his activities. School is also an unrewarding environment for Gary. Although of average intelligence, he reads at only the fourth- or fifth-grade level. This low reading level makes ordinary classroom assignments extremely tedious and frustrating, if not impossible. Speaking of school, Gary said, "They give you work, you're supposed to do it in such and such a time, but they don't explain it enough." Until Gary can read, however, no "explanation" is likely to be sufficient. Understandably, therefore, Gary's first contacts with the law (in 1971) were for truancy.

In April 1972, Gary was sent to the County Institution for truancy, ran, and was committed to the Y.C.C. He spent most of the good-weather months of 1972 in institutions. Advocate **J** transported him back from Lino Lakes after the November release. During the pre-release staffing conference Advocate **J** had recommended that Gary go home immediately. **J** arranged a transfer from Gary's former school (where he had truanted) to **J**'s alternative. **J** introduced Gary to all his teachers and maintained daily contact with the youth. Through **J**'s efforts, Gary was referred to a community-based youth-employment service and got a part-time job at the local hospital.

Gary's adjustment then deteriorated. He attended only 15 of the next 60 school days. He quit his job. J again went to bat for Gary, this time before the school's student discipline/problems committee. In January, 1973 Gary was arrested for petty theft; and then in February, for burglary. He was recommitted to the State institution. "My P.O. just wanted me off the streets," he said.

In discussing service by Advocate J, Gary betrays a deep ambivalence toward "helping" adults. Gary wanted J to help him "make it" in the alternative school program: "I started slacking off; he could have helped more." But when J showed repeated concern over Gary's non-attendance, finally going with Gary to the principal for a meeting – Gary was resentful. "He [J] did the dirty work in the meeting with the principal. He told me how many days I'd missed. He asked me, 'Do you still want to go here?' He told me to straighten up." Gary seemed to have conflicting expectations for the Advocate. He wanted J to help him "make it in the program" and keep him from "slacking off," yet he was incensed when the Advocate, after numerous warnings, took him to the principal. One comment by Gary may reveal what he really wanted: "Some kids don't do no work all year, but they still get passed." Perhaps Gary wanted J to help him make it by making it easy for him – to "get" him high school credits without any work.

At present Gary seems apathetic and somewhat depressed. Knowing his current family situation and his poor reading skills, one suspects Gary's unhappiness is caused by lack of rewards. Perhaps the ill-fated burglary was an attempt to steal rewards. Advocate J says that Gary enjoys building models. This model-building may provide feelings of competence and mastery.

Gary's unrewarding circumstances seem unlikely to last forever. Advocate J may wonder, however, what more he can do in the present to aid Gary's adjustment. In school, a more intensive program of reading improvement might help. Gary's job aspirations also suggest possible avenues of help. Gary's three ideal-job choices were (a) to work with "little kids"; (b) to be a group counselor; and (c) to work in some outdoor job, like laying sod. Gary's interest in group counseling in the future suggests he may be ready in the present to benefit from insight about his own feelings. Now in a group home, Gary may already be receiving personal counseling. Working with children and laying sod both give immediate reward and a sense of mastery. Perhaps Advocate J could find Gary part-time recreational work with children. Somewhat of a loner, Gary may also need to engage in rewarding activities with peers.

Mike, A Group (++) Returnee

According to another Advocate, Mike is Advocate C's "success case." Yet today Mike is not effuse in his praise of C, but merely says that C helped him "mostly, when I first got out." This early post-release help, however, seems important to Mike's eventual excellent adjustment.

When Advocate C met Mike over a year ago, Mike had just spent nine months in County and State correctional institutions. His offense record included three counts of car theft, one of car tampering, and an underage drinking infraction. Mike's mother is on welfare, and his brother is known as a "bad actor."

Advocate C and Mike arrived in school at the same time. Like other returnees to this junior high, Mike was not extended the red carpet by the school administration. Says Advocate C, "The Assistant Principal believes that if a kid gets in trouble once, he'll do it again." According to C, Mike was "hassled repeatedly," and the A.P. even sent an unjustified failure notice to Mike's home. Advocate C took Mike's part on several important occasions. In the case of the incorrect failure notice, the Assistant Principal eventually apologized.

Advocate C's most important service was probably the recognition and encouragement of Mike's talents in art ("excellent") and athletics. By Mike's own account, C "went around trying to find a job for me." The job C found was in a local art museum, and is a job which Mike can retain permanently, if he wishes. C also helped Mike's successful application for State vocational-rehabilitation assistance. While "voc.-rehab." aid is most frequently used by the physically handicapped, delinquents and others with certifiable "behavior problems" are also eligible. This rehabilitation program will largely pay for Mike's training as an artist or physical education teacher, should he choose education beyond high school.

Mike is on his own now, having graduated to senior high school. His present school-community adjustment, excellent for a returnee, would also be considered average to good among any high school sample. As of March 31, 1973, he had no chargeable offenses for over a year, had been discharged from parole, and had near-perfect school attendance. His overall g.p.a. was C+, with A's in Art and Gymnastics.

Advocate C marshalled school and community resources at a crucial period in Mike's adjustment, and then followed through on an adjustment plan. Mike's success can be attributed in part to C's help. C helped him find school and community opportunities that rewarded his abilities.

THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH EFFECTIVE ADVOCATE SERVICE WAS RENDERED: A SUMMARY

Results from different analyses were combined to summarize Advocate differences and returnee differences accounting for better or poor adjustment. These previously discussed analyses included correlations among returnee-adjustment and Advocate-service variables for all returnees; comparisons among the four case-study returnee groups in Advocate service; anxiety differences among returnees; and Advocate beliefs concerning effective methods. Generalizations concerning the conditions for effective Advocate service were also based on profiles of the ten case-study Advocates and the case histories of five returnees. The five case histories of returnees were selected to show the importance of both Advocate and returnee characteristics in returnee adjustment. One returnee (Derek) was chosen as an example of a low anxiety delinquent; this returnee proved intractable to Advocate service. Four more returnees were selected to represent returnee groups (--), (-+), (+-), and (++). From each group, one returnee was selected whose adjustment could be clearly related to Advocate service.

The following generalizations, then, summarize results from different sources and have different degrees of documentation. Most of these generalizations are stated more strongly than the data justify, but are reasonable inferences from the data available.

Advocate characteristics seemingly responsible for good returnee adjustment. Analysis of some studies suggest the following Advocate characteristics which lead to positive returnee adjustment.

1. The Advocate is prompt and assertive in seeking out the returnee – in the institution, school or community (e.g., see case study of Mike).

2. The Advocate helps the returnee make explicit plans for school and/or job. During this planning the Advocate (e.g., **C**) enlists the aid of important persons in the youth's environment and youth-serving professionals.

3. The Advocate (e.g., **C**) adjusts service both to the characteristics of the returnee and to the help already available to the returnee from other sources. Inordinate time spent on a few intractable returnees (e.g., Derek) may force the Advocate (e.g., **E**) to spread service too thinly over the remaining caseload. In addition, some returnees may already be adequately served by adults.

4. The Advocate maintains detailed knowledge of educational and social-service resources for returnees; particularly, alternative schools and government-funded youth-employment/vocational-rehabilitation programs. The Advocate maintains open communication with these youth-serving resources.

5. The Advocate (e.g., **J** and **C**) offers direct, tangible help in furthering a returnee's school or job plans. The Advocate accompanies the youth in job-hunting, school-seeking, and in referring the youth to school-community resources.

6. The Advocate maintains open lines of communication with the returnee. The youth feels comfortable talking with the Advocate over a wide range of problems. The Advocate who has an open door and fosters open communication gets an "early warning" of a youth's adjustment difficulties, before they lead to official school or court action.

7. The Advocate is persistent in making sure the returnee follows through on post-release plans. The Advocate helps the returnee revise plans, where necessary. The Advocate is consistent in concern for the returnee's adjustment. The Advocate does not "drop" the returnee who leaves school. ("Minus" Advocate **D** stated a lack of interest in school-leavers.)

8. Effective work with returnees, as described in 1-7 above, presupposes that the Advocate is an attractive and rewarding person for these delinquency-prone youths. The effective Advocate likes returnees and this liking is reciprocated. The effective Advocate is sought out by returnees. The source of this reward value may vary. For some returnees, the Advocate's provision of tangible services constitutes the reward value. For other returnees, the Advocate is a trusted confidant and a provider of emotional support. Regardless of its source, the Advocate's reward value determines the Advocate's power to influence returnee behavior. (Advocates **E**, **J**, and **C** seem particularly rewarding to returnees. "Plus" Advocates **J** and **C**, in addition, used this reward power to influence returnees.)

Returnee characteristics seemingly responsible for poor returnee adjustment. Analysis of some studies suggest the following returnee characteristics which lead to poor returnee adjustment.

1. Low-anxiety returnees (e.g., Derek) have difficulty staying out of serious trouble. These low-anxiety youths seem relatively undeterred by the unpleasant consequences of their own behavior.

2. Some returnees avoid relationships with adults. They apparently have reason to assume such relationships will be unrewarding. Advocates (and other youth-serving adults) find it difficult to help or influence these youths.

3. The deprived family backgrounds of most returnees hinder their school-community adjustment. Since the variability of disadvantagement variables in this sample is often small, it is hard to determine which

variables are most responsible for poor returnee adjustment. Having an alcoholic parent or guardian is one background factor associated with poor post-release adjustment for both boys and girls. Parents in deprived homes, by their frequent absences or inebriation, do not adequately supervise their children's activities. When present, parents of returnees (e.g., Cheryl) often model antisocial behavior. Some parents of returnees have so little reward value they cannot influence their children's behavior. Although most studied returnees are poor, a home need not be economically impoverished to be deprived by parental alcoholism, criminality, or lack of supervision (e.g., Gary's home was intact but deprived).

4. Many returnees (e.g., Derek, Gary) have poor reading skills. This reading deficiency may be the legacy of both disadvantaged homes and poor school instruction. Returnees who can't read have no chance to succeed in a traditional school-curriculum.

5. In addition to handicaps of temperament, such as low anxiety, some returnees (e.g., Derek and, possibly, Gary) are handicapped by their belief that they do not personally control their own successes and failures in the arenas of school and job. The motivational consequences of this "external-control" belief are lack of effort in pro-social achievement situations. When successes do occur in school and work, they may be attributed by these youths to luck, to easiness of task, or to other circumstances unrelated to their own ability and effort. Since external – control perceptions are aversive, these youths may seek mastery in other, sometimes antisocial, arenas. Public and flagrant delinquency may represent the attempt to demonstrate personal control over some part of one's environment – by setting the wheels of the criminal justice system into motion.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF PROGRAM OPERATION

The first recommendation is a very general one:

1. **The Advocate Program must have more power in policy-making by schools, correctional systems and courts.** Unless experimental programs like the Advocate Program can influence the policies and programs of the established institutions they overlay, then these new programs can have little lasting significance. The powerful institutions of school, corrections and juvenile court apparently have little incentive to take these new anti-delinquency programs seriously.

   Item. The educational plans made by the parole or probation officer as part of a youth's release agreement are often inadequate. Parole and probation officers often have little knowledge not only of alternative educational programs near the youth's post-release residence but also of the youth's own educational needs. Advocates could help develop an educational plan, but they are usually not informed of pre-parole staffings. At least one probation officer wants Advocates to leave "hands off" his kids.

   Item. Courts and the Y.C.C. release and commit youths at all times of the year. Boys and girls have been "sent up" for truancy on the last day of public school. What may be more harmful is the release of a youth in mid-quarter to a school like Vocational High in Minneapolis, which has an attractive curriculum, including auto mechanics and printing, but also a long waiting list and rather exacting teachers. A student entering such a curriculum midstream often flounders.

   Item. The schools continue to demand work from boys and girls of which they may be radically incapable. Several students, unable to read and write, complained about work being "plunked down" in front of them. One girl said a teacher "batted her on the head" when she did not do an assignment, thinking her willful. Actually, she cannot read.

   Item. The schools continue to reward the obedient, authoritarian student who can sit still for a full school day. A subset of delinquent youths is characterized by low anxiety in response to social and physical threat. Several such youths have been suspended or expelled this year in different Advocate schools after each cursed an administrator in almost identical words. Schools and society-at-large must find ways to provide legitimate opportunities that reward the capacity of these youths to take physical and social risks.

This first general recommendation implies the following:

2. **As a condition for receipt of Advocate Program funds, school systems should explicitly commit themselves to aiding the school adjustment of delinquency-prone youth,** many of whom have reading and authority problems. Advocates should be involved in planning new educational programs (e.g., drug education, alternative schools) aimed at delinquency-prone youth.

3. **Prior to funding, correctional systems and juvenile courts should commit themselves to notifying Advocates of pre-release staffings and release dates** (not just commitments) for all service-eligible returnees. Advocates should actively participate in the post-release educational planning for these returnees.

The next set of recommendations concerns recruitment, pre-service training, and in-service training for the Advocate Program.

4. **Job vacancies in the Advocate Program should be advertised as widely as is practical.** The Program should list job vacancies (a) via several public channels, (b) for a reasonable length of time and (c) not just within the view of those already employed in a participating school system.

5. **The present high level of competence among Program personnel should be maintained by recruiting new Advocates with a demonstrated capacity to like, and work effectively with, delinquent youth.**

6. **As in the past, minority persons and women should be encouraged to apply. In particular, Indian Advocates should be sought.**

7. **Pre-service and in-service training should stress (a) knowledge of alternative schools and other specialized educational opportunities in each city, (b) knowledge of youth-employment programs in each city, and (c) knowledge of the roles of other youth-serving professionals in school and community.** During training, Advocates should have opportunities for fact-to-face interaction with these professionals. Police, assistant principals, social workers, probation officers, and parole officers -- these professionals and Advocates could profitably discuss role relations during pre- and in-service training.

8. **Pre-service training should be completed before the school year starts,** so that Advocates can serve new returnees and other delinquents during the first weeks of school, a critical adjustment period.

9. **A new focus for Advocates' in-service training might well be the assessment of returnees' educational needs.** Advocates should learn the implications of measured aptitude, reading achievement and occupational interests for the educational plans of returnees. Advocates need not be psychometricians, but they should be able to relate the results of educational tests given in the correctional institution to returnee plans for education in the community.

The following recommendations vary in content:

10. **Advocates express and show great variation in their commitment to work with returnees. Those funding and supervising the Program should either re-affirm the primary importance of work with returnees or else re-negotiate the objectives of the Program.**

11. **Advocates (as well as many other itinerant professionals, such as parole and probation officers) are difficult to reach by phone.** Some Advocates have student volunteers take messages; this practice or a similar one (e.g., an answering service) should be extended to all Advocate schools.

12. **A small contingency fund should be provided to each advocate** for (a) the temporary employment of returnees in desperate straits who are not eligible for any other job programs, (b) inexpensive recreational activities (e.g., trips, sports events, cultural activities) which may be used as incentives for school attendance, (c) other forms of direct service to youths, as agreed upon by Advocates and supervisors. Receipts for expenditures could be forwarded to each Advocate's supervisor.

THE APPROPRIATENESS OF PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The objective of improved school adjustment (attendance, grades) and improved community adjustment (offenses, institutionalization) seem compatible and highly appropriate. Some investigators believe school frustration is an important cause of delinquency, and that school-leaving is a constructive action for some youths. In contrast to one study showing a positive relation between school attendance and delinquency, the present study shows school adjustment and community adjustment to be relatively independent. Any short-run decrease in delinquency among early school-leavers (if such a decrease ever occurs), might well be outweighed by serious long-run criminality among these same dropouts.

Even in the short-run, however, staying in school has advantages. A returnee who persists in school is eligible for government-funded work-study programs. A returnee in a youth employment program can study half-time and receive academic credit for half-time "work experience." a dropout returnee in this study, however, was unlikely to find a job.

RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE RE-FUNDING OF THE ADVOCATE PROGRAM

The investigator believes the Youth Advocate Program is worthy of re-funding. The expansion of the Program to other schools and cities seems justified. The Program does have important flaws, however, and the preceding section summarizes recommendations for Program improvement. These suggested Program modifications should be made, as conditions for re-funding.

The Advocate Program stands as one of few anti-delinquency programs with demonstrated success in meeting its objectives. The results of a carefully conducted control-group test showed statistically reliable adjustment differences favoring Advocate-served returnees. The design of this test matched Advocate and non-Advocate returnees in comparable, moderately deprived areas of Minneapolis. Alternative explanations for these results – other than effective Advocate service – seem implausible.

Several considerations temper an unqualified endorsement of the Program, however. First, the adjustment differences between Advocate and non-Advocate returnees were generally modest. Second, returnees, whether or not served by an Advocate, did poorly in school, on the average, after their release from a correctional institution. Offense and institutionalization rates indicated some serious recidivism among both experimental and control returnees. Nevertheless, the control-group comparisons showed better post-release adjustment by Advocate-served returnees on every measure employed.

Third, Advocates differed in their ability to promote adjustment among returnees. A few Advocates, by their lack of effort or skill, seemed to have little or no impact on returnees.

The decision to re-fund the Youth Advocate Program must rest, in part, on data and value judgments outside the purposes of this study:

1. Are the statistically significant differences favoring Advocate-served returnees large enough to constitute a practically important impact on the problem of juvenile delinquency in Minnesota?

2. What is a reasonable performance expectation for this program? At best, the Advocate is only one of many important influences in a returnee's adjustment. Very large adjustment differences favoring Advocate-served returnees would in fact be suspect.

3. Advocates work with probationers and pre-delinquents, in addition to returnees. How effective are Advocates in work with these non-studied youths, and how should this effectiveness be weighed in the re-funding decision? (The investigator believes returnees are, in general, the most intractable youths that the Advocates work with.)

4. The Advocate Program is new and changeable. Do Advocates show promises of learning from their experience and improving their performance?

5. What is the value of "a unit" of returnee adjustment? Even modest success with a relatively intractable group of delinquents may be highly valuable. The long-term savings to society of one returnee "success-case" may be great. In an area where little is known – namely, delinquency prevention – a moderately successful program also has great scientific value.

VI. APPENDIX

TABLE 1.
Selected Characteristics of Experimental and Control Returnee Groups in Minneapolis

Characteristic	Male				Female			
	Experimental (N = 48)		Control (N = 27)		Experimental (N = 18)		Control (N = 13)	
	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ
Age	16.3	1.0	16.0	1.0	16.0	1.2	16.0	1.1
School Persistence Pre-Score (% of non-institutionalized school days attended)	51.9[b]	29.9[b]	62.3[e]	25.4[e]	49.7[h]	27.9[h]	51.4[k]	29.2[k]
School Performance Pre-Score (grade-point average)	0.9[b]	0.8[b]	1.1[e]	0.7[e]	0.6[h]	0.7[h]	0.9[k]	0.9[k]
Offense Pre-Score (yearly rate, each offense weighted by its severity)	14.5[c]	11.4[c]	15.4[f]	10.4[f]	8.1[i]	4.5[i]	12.2	6.0
Institutionalization Pre-Score (% of days in a State or County institution)	34.2	25.3	41.0	29.5	40.8	35.3	41.8	29.2
Pre-Index of School-Community Adjustment (mean of z scores for the 4 pre-scores)	+0.08[d]	0.60[d]	+0.17[g]	0.61[g]	+0.25[j]	0.43[j]	+0.09[k]	0.68[k]
Percent of returnees committed to a State institution (Youth Conservation Commission) as of first release	%		%		%		%	
	35		33		33		46	

Note.— In this, and all following tables, the symbols in the column headings have the following meanings: N = number of subjects in sample; $\bar{X}$ = arithmetic mean of scores for sample; σ = standard deviation (unbiased estimate formula) of scores for sample.

[a]"First release" is the first release in 1972 during which the returnee was a subject of study.

[b]N=36.
[c]N=46.
[d]N=36.
[e]N=20.
[f]N=25.
[g]N=18.
[h]N=13.
[i]N=15.
[j]N=12.
[k]N=8.

TABLE 2.
Post-Release School-Community Adjustment of All Service-Eligible Returnees to Experimental (Advocate) and Control (Non-Advocate) Attendance Areas of Minneapolis

Adjustment Variable	Male								Female							
	Experimental Areas (Advocate) (N = 48)		Control Areas (Non-Advocate) (N = 27)		Mean Difference[a]	t[b]	df	p[c]	Experimental Areas (Advocate) (N = 18)		Control Areas (Non-Advocate) (N = 13)		Mean Difference[a]	t[b]	df	p[c]
	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ					$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ				
School Persistence Post-Score (% of non-institutionalized school days attended)	36.4[e]	34.3[e]	33.6	35.3	+2.8	0.33	72	.37	34.6[h]	37.3[h]	15.8	22.1	+18.7	1.61	28	.06
School Performance Post-Score (grade-point average)	0.8[e]	1.0[e]	0.5	0.8	+0.3	1.52	72	.06	0.8	1.0	0.2	0.4	+ 0.7	2.24	29	.02
Offense Post-Score (yearly rate, each offense weighted by its severity)	9.6	10.7	14.2	15.0	+4.6	55	73	.06	5.8	6.2	9.0	14.5	+ 3.2	0.84	29	.20
Institutionalization Post-Score (% of days in a State or County correctional institution)	11.8	20.0	23.6	28.4	+11.9	2.11	73	.02	8.3	21.1	13.5	22.2	+ 5.3	0.67	29	.25
Post-Index of School-Community Adjustment (mean of z scores for the 4 post-scores)	+0.17	0.68	-0.17	0.78	+0.34	1.95	73	.03	+0.36	0.74	0.15	0.66	+ 0.51	1.96	29	.03
Adjustment Gain Score[d] (mean difference between Pre- and Post-Indices of School-Community Adjustment)	+0.09[f]	0.93[f]	-0.05[g]	0.59[g]	+0.14	0.57	52	.28	+0.08[i]	0.92[i]	-0.41[j]	1.10[j]	+ 0.49	1.08	18	.14

Note.— Pre-scores on the adjustment variables are shown in Table 2. While not available for every subject on every variable, these pre-scores indicate that the experimental group was well matched with the control group, or else poorer in pre-release adjustment, on all variables except the Institutionalization Pre-Score for men and the Offense Pre-Score for women.

[a] A plus sign for the difference indicates better adjustment by the Advocate (experimental) group; a minus sign, better adjustment by the non-Advocate (control) group.

[b] t test for independent means, 1-tailed.

[c] p is the probability of a t equal to, or more extreme than, that obtained.

[d] Adjustment Gain Scores were computed only for subjects having scores on all pre- and post-adjustment variables; i.e., no missing data.

[e] N = 47.

[f] N = 36.

[g] N = 18.

[h] N = 17.

[i] N = 12.

[j] N = 8.

TABLE 3.

School-Community Adjustment of Returnees to Minneapolis (Highly Deprived Areas and City Total), St. Paul, and Duluth

Variable	Minneapolis														St. Paul				Duluth			
	Highly Deprived Advocate-School Attendance Areas								City Total, Including Experimental and Control Areas, W.O.C.[a], and Vocational High													
	Male Returnees (N = 24)				Female Returnees (N = 12)				Male Returnees (N = 109)				Female Returnees (N = 46)				Male Returness (N = 22)				Male Returness (N = 15)			
	Pre-Score		Post-Score		Pre-Score		Post-Score		Pre-Score		Post-Score		Pre-Score		Post-Score		Pre-Score		Post-Score		Pre-Score		Post-Score	
	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ	$\bar{X}$	σ
School Persistence Score (% of non-institutionalized school days attended)	47.9[b]	31.3[b]	36.9[c]	28.4[c]	61.5[e]	29.3[e]	33.3	33.4	54.7[g]	28.5[g]	37.2[j]	32.7[j]	52.8[l]	27.7[l]	29.7[n]	32.2[n]	57.2[o]	22.1[o]	49.9	30.4	50.9[p]	17.8[p]	57.2	40.5
School Performance Score (grade-point average)	0.7[b]	0.7[b]	0.8[d]	1.1[d]	0.6[e]	0.5[e]	0.6	1.1	0.9[h]	0.7[h]	0.7[k]	0.9[k]	0.7[l]	0.7[l]	0.6	0.9	1.1[o]	0.8[o]	0.8	0.8	1.0[q]	0.5[q]	0.7	0.8
Offense Score (yearly rate, each offense weighted by its severity)	14.8	12.1	13.5	15.5	11.8[f]	8.5[f]	11.5	12.8	14.4[i]	10.8[i]	11.5	13.0	10.2[m]	6.4[m]	7.9	10.9	18.2	8.8	7.4	11.0	12.8[r]	5.6[r]	2.8	4.7
Institutionalization Score (% of days in a State or County correctional institution)	34.7	25.4	14.0	23.0	43.2	28.1	9.6	20.7	35.7	25.7	14.6	23.1	42.8	31.4	9.6	20.4	51.9	26.6	5.0	12.6	46.0	27.5	7.8	20.1

Note.—This table omits served female returnees from St. Paul (N = 4) and Duluth (N = 3) because descriptive statistics for these small samples were judged too unstable to report.

[a]Work Opportunity Center

[b]N = 19.

[c]N = 22.

[d]N = 23.

[e]N = 10.

[f]N = 11.

[g]N = 81.

[h]N = 82.

[i]N = 105.

[j]N = 106.

[k]N = 107.

[l]N = 33.

[m]N = 41.

[n]N = 45.

[o]N = 17.

[p]N = 7.

[q]N = 9.

[r]N = 14.